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PIRITICAL ACCULTURATION

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Human development is essentially social, and may be measured by the degree in which devices and ideas are interchanged and fertilized in the process of transfer—*i. e.*, by the degree of acculturation. In the higher culture-grades (civilization and enlightenment) the interchange is friendly and purposive; this is amicable acculturation. In the lower culture-grades (savagery and barbarism), on the other hand, the interchange is largely inimical and adventitious; this may be called piratical acculturation.

The law of piratical acculturation is strongly suggested by one of the two phases of stone-work among the Seri Indians. The first phase is indigenous and represents the commonplace industries of the tribe; it involves merely the selection and use of cobbles suitable for crushing shells and seeds, breaking bones, and severing tough tissues with the aid of a larger stone as an anvil, together with the subsequent retention and incidental wear of especially convenient specimens; this phase of stone-work being that already designated *protolithic*.¹ The second phase involves chipping and purposive shaping of quartz or other tough rock into arrowpoints and spearheads used for war purposes; it is little known and seldom practiced, the very name for stone arrowpoint being known to but few of the tribe; since the process involves preconception—including a definite model and a distinctive design—it may be called *technolithic*. Manifestly the two phases are widely distinct, not only in type of object but even more in the mental operations illustrated by the objects; for the protolithic implements represent undesigned adaptation and modification of cobbles picked up at random, while the technolithic weapons represent designed shaping of obdurate materials in accordance with preconceived ideas. The coexistence of the two incongruous types seemed puzzling at the outset, and was provisionally ascribed to the diverse occupations of the sexes, the women using the protolithic implements and certain of the war-

¹ American Anthropologist, vol. ix, 1896, p. 318; *ibid.*, vol. x, 1897, p. 326.

riors making and using the technolithic weapons. Further study showed that the arrowpoints imitate in every essential respect the aboriginal weapons of the hereditary enemies of the Seri, including the Papago and Yaki Indians; and this fact, coupled with the mysticism thrown around the chipped stone objects by the Seri shamans—a mysticism expressed by the ignorance of the name for stone arrowpoint among the common people—suggested that the idea of the technolithic weapons was acquired through warfare. Examination of other characteristics of the Seri Indians in the light of this interpretation served to explain various puzzling features displayed by them, and, at the same time, tended to establish the validity of the interpretation.

The Seri appear to be practically autochthonous; they have been at war with alien tribes almost constantly since the time of Columbus, and indeed long before, as indicated by archeologic evidence; and most of their arts and industries are exceedingly primitive. Yet here and there features imitating those characteristic of neighboring tribes or even of white men are found: They carry water in ollas which are fairly distinctive in type, though apparently based on alien models, yet make no other use of baked clay; they substitute cast-off rags and fabrics obtained by plunder for their own fabrics wrought with great labor from inferior fibers; since the adjacent waters have been navigated they have learned to collect flotsam, and to use tattered sailcloth in lieu of pelican-skin blankets, cask staves in lieu of shells as paddles for their balsas, hoop-iron in lieu of charred wood as arrowpoints for hunting, and iron spikes in lieu of bone harpoons for taking turtles; and, during recent years, each marauding group carries one or two guns taken from previous victims, though they seldom possess ammunition and make little good use of it when they do. Almost without exception, these modifications in custom have arisen without amicable relation and despite—indeed largely by reason of—deep-seated enmity against alien peoples.

Too little is known of the inner life of the Seri Indians to warrant statement of their own ideas concerning the acculturation whereby their customs are slowly changing; but something of the way in which piratical acculturation progresses may be learned from the history of the Papago and Apache Indians. These tribes have been bitterly inimical from time immemorial, the oldest cosmogonic legends of the Papago describing the separa-

tion of the peoples at the creation ; yet there is hardly a custom, at least among the Papago, which has not been shaped partially or completely by the inimical tribe: The habitat of the Papago in the hard desert is that to which they have been forced by the predatory enemy ; their industries are shaped by the conditions of the habitat and by the perpetual anticipation of attack ; the traditions nightly recounted by the old men are chiefly of battle against the Apache ; even the beliefs and ceremonies of the Papago are connected with that eternal vigilance which they have found the price of safety, or with the wiles and devices of the ever-present enemy. The early observations on the exoteric life of the Papago revealed plain evidences of an inimical acculturation, conspicuous as that of the Seri ; while later studies of their esoteric life brought to light the concepts and motives by which the acculturation was guided. As the studies advanced it became manifest that the most important element in the acculturation is connected with belief. To the primitive mind the efficiency of a weapon is not mechanical but mystical, an expression of superphysical potency connected with the primitive pantheon of zoic deities ; and each enemy strives constantly to coax or suborn the beast gods or other mystical potencies of the antagonist. So the Papago shaman seeks to identify the Apache deities from their symbols used in warfare, and then to invoke their aid ; and the Papago warrior goes confidently to battle against the Apache when protected by a fetish including an Apache arrow-point taken in conflict, and feels sure of victory if his warclub is made in imitation of that of the enemy and potentialized by a plume or inscription appealing to the Apache deity. This indicates the real essence of piratical acculturation ; it represents the aim of shamans and warriors to obtain favor from the mystical powers of the enemy, and thus to win easy victory ; and it results, incidentally, in painstaking imitation of articles seen and captured in battle. The commonplace explanation offered by the Seri warrior for carrying an ammunitionless gun is that "it frightens the enemy" (though both they and the enemy realize that even a Winchester with full magazine is less effective in the unskilled hands of one of their warriors than a bow and quiver of arrows, in the use of which they are marvelously expert), and in the light of Papago ideation it becomes clear that to the Seri the rifle is a symbol of mystical potency ; and, in the

same light, the Seri passion for rather clumsy stone arrowpoints in lieu of teeth or fish-spines or charred hard-wood becomes fairly clear.

Among many primitive peoples marriage is one of the most efficient means of acculturation. Numerous observers have noted that actual or ceremonial capture of the bride is a feature of marriage among certain tribes, and have assumed that this was the initial form of mating. Researches among the American Indians have shown that in the lowest of the four great culture-stages paternity is ill-recognized or not recognized at all, and that mating is regulated chiefly by the female relatives of the bride with the sanction of their male kindred; so that, in this stage of development, marriage-by-capture of brides is hardly conceivable. It is probable that in this stage the blood-mingling of tribes arises chiefly in capture and enslavement or adoption of wounded or defeated warriors; yet there is a step early in the stage of paternal organization (perhaps arising late in the antecedent stage of maternal organization) in which a certain form of marriage-by-capture has arisen in America, as shown by Powell, and may easily have become prominent on other continents. When peoples are in that unstable condition of amity characterized by peaceful interludes between periods of strife—a condition found in higher savagery and much of barbarism—the intertribal association occasionally results in irregular matches between members of the alien tribes; such mating may be punished by one or both tribes, though sometimes there are special regulations under which the offense may be condoned—*e. g.*, the groom or the couple may be subjected to fine, to ostracism until children are born, etc. While both bride and groom may incur displeasure and even risk of life through such matches, there is a chance of attendant advantage which measurably counterbalances the risk, for the groom, especially if of the weaker tribe, may eventually gain the amity and support of his wife's kinsmen, while the eldersmen and elderwomen of one or both tribes may recognize the desirability of a coalition tending to unite the tribes and thus to strengthen both. There is reason to suppose that in earlier savagery the irregular mating was frequently but a source of intertribal strife, and that the custom of condonation arose slowly and gradually transformed such unions into inter-

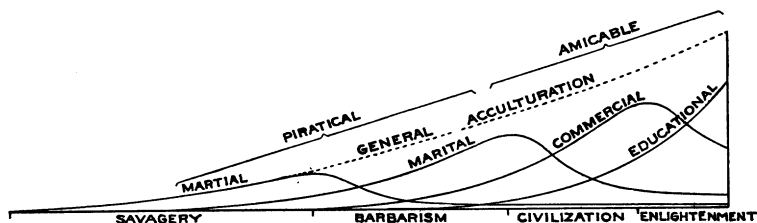
tribal bands. Certainly the recognition and regulation of inter-tribal marriage are common among primitive peoples and are expressed in the customs of exogamy and endogamy; and the researches among the native Americans have shown that the customs expressed by these terms are correlative, the former referring to the clan and the latter to the tribe or other group; they have also shown that the limitation of exogamy and the extension of endogamy are effective devices for uniting tribal interests and promoting peace.

The definiteness and complexity of marriage regulations among all primitive peoples thus far studied imply clear recognition of the importance of what may be called marital acculturation; yet they do not necessarily indicate the motives in the minds of the tribesmen. Fortunately the motives are known in some cases, and are found to have a strong fiducial factor: Among the clans of the Kwakiutl, as shown by Boas, the aim of marriage settlement is the acquisition, not of property or kindred *per se*, but of family traditions—*i. e.*, of the gods to which the traditions relate; among many tribes the marriage of a Wolf-man and an Eagle-woman results in an exoteric bond between the clans which, viewed from the esoteric side seen by the Indians themselves, is a union between the Ancient of Wolves and the Ancient of Eagles, and thus a coalition of mystical potencies able to shape the careers of both clans, and, by combination, to give them enlarged domain; the same sentiment survived in ancient Greece and Rome, in which a feature of marriage was the disposition of the lares and penates.

Now, the marital acculturation characteristic of barbarism is not strictly inimical, since the antagonistic element (which survives in curious fashion even in civilization and enlightenment) is gradually subordinated; neither can it be regarded as strictly amicable by reason of this antagonism. On the whole, it seems fairly clear that intertribal marriage, whether by the espousal of captured warriors by women of victorious groups, by common agreement, by mutually arranged elopement, or by actual or symbolic capture of the bride, is simply a means of uniting aliens largely through their deities, and thereby of raising acculturation from the martial plane to that of amicable interchange.

There is a third phase of acculturation which is commonly recognized, and indeed implicitly assumed to represent the sum of social interaction; it arises in barter and matures in commerce. In this phase the idea of property grows dominant; the interchange begins with personal property and passes to lands and waters; and its effect is to unify ideas and motives and to bring peoples and nations into harmony.

There remains a phase of acculturation which is unimportant among primitive peoples, increasingly important in civilization, and paramount in enlightenment; it is the free or regulated interchange of ideas by processes which in the last analysis are essentially educative.



Briefly, there are four phases of acculturation which practically represent stages in human development. The first phase is characteristic of savagery; it is expressed in the imitation of weapons and symbols, with the esoteric purpose of invoking new deities; it may be styled martial acculturation. The second phase is characteristic of barbarism, though arising earlier and persisting later; it is expressed in semi-antagonistic mating between tribes, with the initial esoteric purpose of strengthening tribal pantheons; it may be called marital acculturation. These two phases are essentially piratical, though the antagonistic element is gradually weakened as amity arises with increasing intelligence. The third phase is characteristic of civilization, though it begins in barbarism and plays a role in enlightenment; it is expressed in interchange of goods with the purpose (at first esoteric and afterward exoteric) of personal profit or gain; it may be designated commercial acculturation. The fourth phase is characteristic of enlightenment, though its beginnings may be found much lower; it is expressed in the spontaneous interchange of ideas for the purpose of increasing human power over

nature; it may provisionally be styled educational acculturation. The last two phases are essentially amicable.

The four stages combine to express the law of acculturation, the applications of which are innumerable: In the light of the law it becomes easy to understand how inimical tribes are gradually brought to use similar weapons and implements, to adopt similar modes of thinking and working, to worship similar deities, and thus to pass from complete dissonance to potential harmony, which becomes actual concord whensoever the exigencies of primitive life demand; thus the course of that convergent development, which is the most important lesson the American aborigines have given to the world, is made clear. Based as it is on scattered facts in the history of mankind, the law seems to illumine the history of acculturation; it indicates that the human prototype was too provincial to profit by acculturation, and lived unto himself like the beasts of the field; also that piratical acculturation of the martial type began early in savagery, as exemplified by the Seri Indians, gradually declining as a higher type arose; that marital acculturation became dominant, as exemplified by most of our Indian tribes and by the barbaric peoples of other continents; and that amicable acculturation of two types succeeded to give character to civilization, and prepare the way for the enlightenment already illumining the world.

The relations between the stages of acculturation are set forth graphically in the accompanying diagram, which is designed to show the cumulative progress of general acculturation, together with the rise and decadence of the special forms of acculturation characteristic of the four principal stages in human development. The successive curves in the diagram indicate the rhythmic character of progress and the cumulative value of its interrelated factors. Representing as it does the law of normal growth, and indeed of cosmic progress, the diagram is widely applicable; in the special case under consideration it exhibits relations more clearly and in a more natural manner than any arbitrary scheme of typographic arrangement, and at least suggests the complex history of the long course of human acculturation beginning with savagery and coming up to enlightenment.